

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 185471

FOLLOWING REPEAT TOKYO 10728 ACTION SECSTATE INFO SEOUL  
TAIPEI HONG KONG PEKING CINCPAC 04 AUG

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I H L L TOKYO 10728

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, JA, KS, KN  
SUBJ: START OF "MIKI DIPLOMACY"

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

SUMMARY. PRESS REPORTS ON PRIMIN MIKI'S TOKYO DEPARTURE AND SEATTLE ARRIVAL HAVE SHED ADDITIONAL LIGHT ON HIS APPROACH TO WASHINGTON MEETINGS. IN DEPARTURE FROM PAST PRECEDENT, HE HOPES TO HOLD FRANK DISCUSSIONS "WITHOUT SCENARIOS" LEADING HE HOPES TO "CREATIVEZ U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION. DURING TOP LEVEL CONVERSATIONS OR IN U.S. SPEECHESOV HE RPORTEDLY WILL URGE CONTINUED STATIONING OF U.S. TROOPS IN KOREA, PROMISE EARLY NPT RATIFICATION, AND UNDERLINE IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE. RUSH OF LAST MINUTE PREPARATIONS HAS LEFT FOREIGN OFFICE UNCLEAR, LDP HAWKS SUSPICIOUS AND JAPANESE PRESS OFF BALANCE ABOUT WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN WASHINGTON. ALL THIS IS BILLED AS THE START OF "MIKI DIPLOMACY." END SUMMARY.

1. MIKI HAS MADE IT CLEAR, ACCORDING TO PRESS REPORTS, HE WANTS  
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NO SCENARIOS FOR HIS CONVERSATIONS WITH TOP U.S. LEADERS OR CANNED JONT COMMUNIQUES. HE REPORTEDLY HOPES FOR FRANK INFORMAL EXCHANGES WITH U.S. LEADERS LEADING TO A "CREATIVE" COOPERATION ON A BROAD RANGE OF ISSUES BETWEEN U.S. AND JAPAN. AFTER CONCERTRATING

THUS FAR IN HIS ADMINISTRATION ON DOMESTIC ISSUES, HE VIEWS HIS U.S. VISIT AS THE START OF "MIKI DIPLOMACY."

2. REPORTEDLY, DRAFT TEXT FOR HIS WASHINGTON PRESS CLUB SPEECH IS ENTITLED "CREATIVE COOPERATION FOR PEACE." IN IT HE WILL SPEAK OF STRENGTHENING THE U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE AND WILL REAFFIRM IMPORTANCE OF MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY IN THIS CONTEXT. IN ADDITION, DRAFT TEXT HAS HIM PROMISE RATIFICATION OF NPT AS DIET SESSION SCHEDULED TENTATIVELY TO START IN EARLY SEPTEMBER. THIS PROMISE STEMS IN PART FROM HIS CONCERN THAT FAILURE THUS FAR TO RATIFY HAS PROMPTED INTERNATIONAL DISTRUST OF JAPAN. (LDP SEC-GEN NAKASONE TOLD EMBOFFS AUGUST 2, HOWEVER, THAT NPT RATIFICATION ISSUE WOULD NOT BE TAKEN UP UNTIL REGULAR DIET SESSION NEXT YEAR.)

3. ON KOREA, MIKI WILL, ACCORDING TO SPEECH DRAFT, URGE CONTINUED STATIONING OF U.S. TROOPS IN KOREA AND EXPRESS HOPE THAT DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA WILL LEAD TO PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION. REFLECTING SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT APPROACH, FONGMIN MIYAZAWA DURING AN AUGUST 1 INTERVIEW WAS CRITICAL OF NORTH KOREAN INFLEXIBILITY. HE CRITICIZED NORTH KOREA'S UNWILLINGNESS TO TALK WITH PRESIDENT PARK, ITS OPPOSITION TO SIMULTANEOUS UN ENTRY OF BOTH KOREAS AND ITS REFUSAL TO DISCUSS CONTINUANCE OF PRESENT CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT WITHOUT THE UNC. MIYAZAWA WAS COOL TO POSSIBLE JAPANESE RECOGNITION OF NORTH KOREA OR ECONOMIC COOPERATION. MIYAZAWA INDICATED MAIN FOCUS OF MIKI-FORD TALKS WOULD BE SOUTH KOREAN SECURITY BUT CONCILIATION RATHER THAN CONFRONTATION WAS JAPAN'S AIM. HE STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF NOT ISOLATING NORTH KOREA. IN WASHINGTON, MIYAZAWA SAID, HE HOPES TO DISCUSS SPECIFIC WAYS TO INDUCE NORTH-SOUTH KOREA TALKS.

4. IN A RELATED DEVELOPMENT, LDP SEC-GEN NAKASONE TOLD EMBOFFS AUGUST 2 THAT, DESPITE PRESS REPORTS TO CONTRARY, MIKI FIRMLY UNDERSTANDS IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH KOREA'S SECURITY TO THAT OF JAPAN AND THAT U.S. SHOULD HAVE NO WORRIES ON THIS SCORE. HE SAID THAT RECENT CONCERN OVER MIKI "SOFTNESS" TOWARD NORTH KOREA WAS RESULT OF PROPAGANDA BY LDP DOVE UTUNOMIYA, AND DID NOT REFLECT MIKI'S CONFIDENTIAL

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THINKING.

5. MINISTERIAL MEETINGS. PRESS REPORTS INDICATED JAPANESE ARE PREPARED TO AGREE TO THE SECRETARY'S PROPOSAL OF SEMI-ANNUAL MEETINGS WITH HIS JAPANESE COUNTERPART. ONE PRESS REPORT ALSO INDICATED JAPAN MAY PRESS FOR REGULAR (SEPARATE) MEETINGS OF GOJ AGRICULTURE MINISTER AND EDUCATION MINISTER WITH THEIR U.S. COUNTERPARTS. FOR TIME BEING, HOWEVER, JAPANESE APPARENTLY HAVE RULED OUT REGULAR MEETINGS OF DEFENSE AGENCY DIRECTOR-GENERAL WITH SECRETARY OF DEFENSE BECAUSE OF LIKELY DOMESTIC POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

6. JOINT COMMUNIQUE. MOST PAPERS CARRIED STORIES, ATTRIBUTED TO FONOFF SOURCES, THAT FONOFF JOINT COMMUNIQUE DRAFT EFFORTS ALONG

TRADITIONAL LINES WERE COUNTERMANDED RECENTLY BY MIKI HIMSELF. RATHER THAN USUAL TWELVE -THIRTEEN ARTICLES, MIKI CALLED FOR A SHORT FORM COMMUNIQUE. APPARENT IDEA, ACCORDING TO PRESS, WAS TO LEAVE MIKI ROOM FOR GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY AND KOREA ISSUES. UPSHOT OF ALL THIS, FONOFF OFFICIALS HAVE TOLD US DIRECTLY, WAS FOUR DAYS WITHOUT SLEEP FOR THOSE DIRECTLY INVOLVED AND THREE "SHORT FORM" DRAFTS, THE LAST OF WHICH MIKI STUFFED IN HIS POCKET IN THE FINAL MINUTES BEFORE DEPARTURE. THUS NEITHER BUREAUCRACY NOR PRESS KNOW WHAT SORT OF COMMUNIQUE WILL FINALLY EMERGE.

7. COMMENT. ALL OF THIS REFLECTS THE GRADUALLY EMERGING MIKI STYLE. HE APPEARS INTENT ON MAKING HIS OWN IMPRESS ON THIS FIRST AND MOST IMPORTANT DIPLOMATIC JOURNEY. HE HAS RELIED FOR ADVICE AS MUCH--IF NOT MORE--ON LONGTIME POLITICAL CRONIES AND CONFIDANTS AS ON THE BUREAUCRACY. HE HAS REFUSED TO BE PINNED DOWN AS TO PRECISELY WHAT HE WILL SAY OR AGREE TO WHILE IN THE U.S. HE HAS SAID ONLY THAT HE HOPES FOR A BROADER "CREATIVE" CONCEPT OF A U.S.-JAPAN ALLIANCE IN WHICH THE SECURITY TREATY AND SECURITY CONCERNS WOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT BUT NOT DOMINANT ROLE. ALL OF THIS HAS LEFT THE BUREAUCRACY DISCONCERTED, LDP CONSERVATIVES WORRIED, AND THE PRESS UNCUSTOMARILY OFF BALANCE. SHOESMITH UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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